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New South

FORMERLY THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL presents this month the first issue of its new publication — *New South* — which takes the place of *The Southern Frontier*. This change is more than a change of title and format of the publication; it symbolizes the Council's launching in 1946 of a broader and more intensified program for the South. Yet it does not imply any change in the basic ideals and activities of SRC. The slogan which appears on SRC's letterhead still applies: "A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South." The goals summed up in that slogan — higher standards of living, better race relations, political rights for all people, better education and health services, equal justice before the law — these are still the aims of SRC.

The change lies in this: that SRC will from now on strive to study and solve the problems implicit in those goals as parts — symptoms, if you like — of the over-all problem of the South, which is the region's need to develop a fuller use of its resources, both natural and human, through achieving a healthy balance between agriculture and industry within the region. The democratic corollary to this, of course, lies in the duty of every Southerner to see to it that such development, as it is achieved, is used wisely and shared fairly by all, for all. It is to this development and democratic shaping of the South's growth that SRC will give most of its effort.

No organization, however, can bring much weight to bear on such a task unless it has the broad support of the people — and there is summed up another of the changes in SRC's approach to the problems of the South. For the Southern Regional Council is launching now a campaign to enlist as wide and as representative a membership as possible, so that its aims and activities may be known and felt in every part of the South. Only from the support of liberal Southerners — men and women of good will (and there are hundreds of thousands of them yet uncounted) — can SRC muster the strength to make its demands for a more prosperous and more democratic South be heard. It takes people to make a movement.

So, as we enter a new year with a new energy, we hope that you will continue to give your support as a member; that if you are not a member you will now join us; and that you will go further and urge your like-minded friends to become members of the Southern Regional Council and take up with us the common task of making the "New South" a reality. That way — and that way only — lies not only the South's fulfillment, but personal fulfillment, too.

Model for the South?

By Earle L. Rauber

THE INDUSTRIAL TOWN of Kingsport, Tennessee, approximately a hundred miles northeast of Knoxville, is unique in many ways. Unlike most other towns, the industries of Kingsport form a definite pattern that is the outcome of careful planning and guidance. Many towns and cities throughout the South are hoping and working for an expansion of their local industries in the postwar period. Chambers of commerce, civic clubs, and planning commissions are seeking to bring about such a development. Whether industrial expansion of this sort will result in maximum long-run benefit or in something less will depend to a great extent upon the planning that goes into it. Since Kingsport is a planned industrial community, its experience may be of value to other communities planning their industrial future.

In 1905 George L. Carter interested the owners, through Blair and Company of New York, in completing the railroad. One of the Blair associates, John B. Dennis, took over the building of the Clinchfield Route of the present Carolina, Clinchfield and Ohio Railroad. Kingsport again found itself on an artery of commerce, this time one that connected with many trunk rail lines within its 309-mile span.

Nucleus and Growth

In furtherance of the plan to build at Kingsport a modern industrial town, the Kingsport Improvement Corporation was organized to develop the lands that had been acquired by the railroad.

The coming of the railroad to Kingsport in 1909 had created a nucleus of industries engaged in the utilization of some of the local natural resources. Of these the Kingsport Brick Corporation and the Clinchfield Portland Cement Company, both organized in 1910 for the exploitation of local shale beds, were the oldest. In addition there were in the town shortly after its incorporation in 1917, the Kingsport Extract Corporation, the Kingsport Tannery, the Kingsport Pulp Company.

The old Kingsport Brick Corporation merged with five other companies to form the General Shale Products Corporation. The Clinchfield Portland Cement Company was absorbed in the merger by which the Pennsylvania-Dixie Cement Corporation was created. A plant established in 1919 by Corning Glass Works, for the manufacture of Pyrex, closed down during the 1920 depression, was reopened in 1926 as the Blue Ridge Glass Corporation.

The largest of the new industries to come to Kingsport was the Tennessee Eastman Corporation, a subsidiary of Eastman Kodak. This concern in 1920 acquired a Government-owned plant, built by the American Wood Reduction Company, for producing methanol and other chemicals needed in the manufacture of photographic film.

Problem Turned to Progress

Pulp was almost a surplus commodity in 1920, and there seemed little likelihood that the Kingsport Pulp plant could be stabilized unless its output could be converted into book paper. On the other hand, the production of book paper in the United States was at a level sufficient to meet all current requirements. To justify the building of a paper plant to absorb the output of the pulp mill, a new agency would have to be created to consume the output of the paper plant. Mr. Dennis took this problem to a life-long friend, Joseph H. Sears, one-time head of the publishing house of D. Appleton Company, now D. Appleton-Century Company. Mr. Sears advanced the idea of producing a uniform series of the classics of literature in cloth binding to sell for a dime a copy through the Woolworth stores and large mail-order houses.

The outcome was the organization of the publishing house of J. H. Sears and Company and of a book manufacturing concern — the Kingsport Press. The Mead Corporation, an Ohio concern, was induced to take over the pulp mill and build a one-machine paper plant. In the fall of 1922 both the Mead paper plant and the printing plant were under construction.

The printing plant established itself in the buildings erected by the Simmons Hardware Company but never occupied.

At first the Kingsport Press also manufactured its own book cloth. By 1925, however, the market for inexpensive classics had begun to fade, and the firm turned to the manufacture of better grades of books. The Mead Corporation had so increased its papermaking facilities that it was able to furnish the book plant with better grades of paper. The press then no longer needed all the inexpensive cloth it was able to produce, but it was unable to supply its own needs for better quality cloth. Much of the better fabric had to be purchased elsewhere, chiefly from Holliston Mills of Norwood, Massachusetts.

Meanwhile, Holliston was looking for a Southern location. The outcome was the sale of its book-cloth plant in 1926 by the Kingsport Press to Holliston Mills.

Other important, though smaller, concerns have been established in the city since World War I. Among these is Borden Mills, a cotton gray-goods plant established in 1925. Two years after Borden, the Kingsport Foundry and Manufacturing Company was organized; another addition was the Southern Oxygen Company. Two hosiery mills, since passed out of existence, also located in Kingsport. Another that came and went was the Kingsport Silk Mill. The building that had been occupied by this concern is now occupied by the Smoky Mountains Hosiery Mill, which came to Kingsport in 1936. Other firms that make up the industrial community of Kingsport are two dairy-products establishments, various service industries, utilities, a newspaper publishing concern, and building materials companies.

Lines of the Pattern

An examination of the group of major industries that constitute the economic heart of Kingsport discloses certain well-marked characteristics. One of the most striking is the close, but not complete, dependence of the industries upon local or near-by raw materials, although this was more important in the early development of these industries than it is today. Actually, the range of natural resources in the immediate vicinity of Kingsport is quite limited. The oldest industries exhibit the greatest dependence upon these raw materials. The shale beds are the basis of both the brick and cement industries. The glass industry rests upon the presence of large deposits of sand that is 99 per cent silica. Although the Tennessee Eastman Corporation was at first a large consumer of wood, this condition ceased with the passing of the methanol business. It seems, therefore, that natural resources were more important in the earlier phases of Kingsport's development than they are today.

If the South is to achieve the greater industrialization it needs to gain a balance between farm and factory, between people and resources, communities must know what kind of development they want and how to get it. This article is condensed from the MONTHLY REVIEW of the Federal Reserve Bank.

Diversification

One of the features of Kingsport's industrial community is its high degree of diversification. Diversification, however, is also a characteristic of many of Kingsport's individual industries. From an economic standpoint, diversification is of great importance not only to the individual industries but to the whole community. This appears to have been the case in Kingsport where it is said "there was no depression" during the 1930's. Diversification as achieved in Kingsport, however, is more than the mere bringing together in one community of a number of different industries. It includes a high degree of interdependence among these industries. The Kingsport Press, for example, gets approximately 60 per cent of its paper from the Mead Corporation and almost 90 per cent of its book cloth from Holliston Mills. Holliston, in turn, gets at least part of its fabric from Borden Mills.

Although the individual industries depend a great deal on their neighbors for raw materials, they depend on one another much less for markets. Kingsport Press, for example, may get much if not most of its raw materials locally, but only a small fraction of its books are sold locally. It may buy almost all its book cloth from Holliston Mills, but for Holliston Mills the Kingsport Press is only a partial mar-

(*Continued on page* 12)

"Negro History Week" Stresses Race's Part in Civilization

THE WAR IS OVER, and yet the war has just begun. The same selfishness which got beyond control in Europe and Asia and necessitated the interference of those who have risen a little above savagery is about as rank as ever. During the international conflict the majority in this country decided to adjourn temporarily the bitter strife within the nation in order to present a united front against the Nazis. Now that the war has been officially declared at end, the classes and the races have reopened their conflicts. They style their action an effort to advance democracy, but it looks more like self-extermination.

While in most of the so-called democracies the strife is one of classes, in the United States the conflict is a mixed comedy of clashes of both races and classes. Sometimes the conflict presents the troublesome aspect of being both class and race conflict at the same time, for those devoted to racial strife may or may not be interested in class strife and vice versa. But almost everybody in the country is busy trying to prevent someone from attaining a status which he believes the aspirant should not have. Many who demand democracy for themselves would not like to see persons of another race enjoy that boon.

In the United States the situation is very discouraging. Although we have just emerged from a life-and-death struggle, brought upon the world by the effort of a lunatic to exalt his race above all others and bring the universe under its domination, in the city councils, in the state legislatures, and in the Congress of the United States we have men who have taken the leadership in advancing the selfsame doctrine. Most of them first directed their destructive efforts toward the Negro, but now they are attacking the Catholics, Jews, Italians, and the Russians. History shows that, if the mischievous elements be permitted to attack one part of the population, it will soon advance to the position of making war on others.

To justify the injustice done the Negro the American Nazis in and out of Congress resort to malicious falsehood in saying that the Negro is an inferior race which has never developed a civilization. The "proof" which they advance is that during the three hundred years that the Negro was held in slavery and peonage in the United States he failed to equal the white man who kept him in bondage. The purpose of "Negro History Week"* is to invite attention to the Negro in all parts of the world and to show that even when in bondage the record made is not to be despised. We must broaden our conception of culture and learn enough about the other fellow to appreciate his point of view. In this way and in this way only can we build a democracy which the world of tomorrow will accept.

CARTER G. WOODSON, Director
The Association for the Study of
Negro Life and History

Three More Ex-GI's Join SRC Veterans Service Division

Director George S. Mitchell of Southern Regional Council's Veterans Service Division announced this month the appointment of three more veterans to his staff as field agents. This brings the total of Dr. Mitchell's assistants to four. They are:

William B. Twitty, native of Alabama, served as occupational counselor in the Sixth Service Command. A graduate of the University of Alabama, he spent two years of graduate study in sociology at the University of North Carolina. He will cover Alabama for the Veterans division.

Horace A. Bohannon, native of Georgia, was a fighter pilot with the 99th Fighter Squadron. He was in his senior year at Lincoln University when he entered the service. Mr. Bohannon will cover Georgia.

Ibra B. January, of Louisiana, recently released from the Army, studied for a year at Tuskegee Institute. Mr. January will cover the northern part of Louisiana.

Dr. Mitchell said the field agents will concentrate on the study and encouragement of job training for veterans.

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* Week of Feb. 10

Voting the Hard Way

By Stetson Kennedy

AT THE SAME TIME that disbelievers in democracy were busy foisting the polltax upon the South, they managed to tie still other strings on the right to vote. These laws generally took the form of literacy tests, which require that a person be able to read or write any part of the Constitution, or else "give a reasonable interpretation of same." To make it appear that these restrictions were going to be administered in such manner as to keep Negroes from registering, the laws included various exemptions. Among those exempt from tests in this state or that, are Confederate veterans and their "lawful descendants," owners of 40 acres of land or $500 worth of other property, or "persons of good character who understand the duties of citizenship."

Under these laws, the registrar, upon finding (or pretending to find) some fault with the way a Negro reads or writes or interprets the Constitution, can refuse to register him. On the other hand, if an illiterate white man applies, the registrar can accept him as "a person of good character who understands the duties of citizenship."

Registration Tricks

In practice these requirements have been used to deny registration to whites (especially members of labor unions) as well as Negroes. The laws leave the decision in the hands of the registrar, and although the person seeking to register can appeal to the courts, by the time he can get a decision the election is generally over.

Requirements like these are unfair and are often unfairly administered.

Our registration laws are cluttered with specifications as to when people can and cannot register. There is no good reason for having any such time limits on when a man can register to vote. Registration books should be kept open at all times up until two weeks before an election.

Another string tied to the ballot is the requirement that a person must re-register from time to time. All but five states in the Union have now done away with this handicap — in the other 43 states, once a person is registered he stays registered. Three of the five states which still require periodic re-registration are in the South. They are South Carolina, Tennessee, and Louisiana. Texas and Arkansas go to the other extreme and do not require registration; all you need to vote in those states is a polltax receipt.

The requirement of long periods of residence in the state, county, and district as a qualification for voting has disfranchised many war workers and migratory farm workers, as well as various other kinds of workers whose jobs require that they move frequently. The present residence requirements of the Southern states are listed on the next page.

Make Voting Easier

Instead of the present laws which give political parties dictatorial power to say who can and who cannot vote in their primaries, new laws should be adopted which would recognize the official function of the parties and their primaries, and forbid them to deny membership and a primary vote to anyone without good reason.

Anyone registered and qualified to vote in the general election should be eligible to vote in the primary. At the time he registers each person should be asked to state with what party he wishes to affiliate. His party should be listed in the registration book, and he should then be entitled to vote in the primary of that party.

But the law should provide for challenging a person's party affiliation, from the time he seeks to register until the time he seeks to vote in the primary. The decision in such challenges should be made by the local election officials, with a right to appeal to the courts.

In most Southern states the laws now provide that the polls be open "from can to can't" — from sunrise to sunset. That was all right when the South did little else but farm, and when we had no electric

	State	County	District
Alabama	2 Years	1 Year	3 Months
Arkansas	1 Year	6 Months	1 Month
Georgia	1 Year	6 Months	.....
Mississippi	2 Years	.....	1 Year
S. Carolina	2 Years	1 Year	4 Months
Tennessee	1 Year	6 Months	.....
Texas	1 Year	6 Months	6 Months
Virginia	1 Year	6 Months	1 Month
Oklahoma	1 Year	6 Months	1 Month (Precinct)
N. Carolina	1 Year	.....	4 Months (Precinct)
Florida	1 Year	6 Months	.....
Louisiana	2 Years	1 Year	3 Months (Precinct)

lights. But nowadays the voting hours ought to be lengthened to give people with jobs a better chance to get to the polls before or after work.

Twenty-three states now have laws which require employers to give their workers time off to vote on election day. Fifteen of the state laws provide that the workers must be paid for the time they are off voting, unless they are employed on a piece-work basis. Three of the states which have such laws are in the South: Arkansas, Kentucky and Texas.

Laws of this kind, making it possible for working people to vote without hardship or loss of wages, should be adopted by all Southern states, and should apply to primaries as well as general elections. Employers should have the right to designate the hours during which their workers are released to vote, but they should be required to notify the workers what those hours are.

In these times, when so many jobs require frequent change of residence, it is important that absentee voting be made easy as well as honest. Citizens should be free to cast absentee ballots anywhere for both state and Federal officials in both primary and general elections, provided only that their ballots are received by the day of the voting. Here are some of the strings which various Southern states now have tied to absentee voting:

Doesn't permit
Kentucky
Permit within state only
Florida
Permit servicemen only
Louisiana
Mississippi (and in primaries only)
In general elections only
North Carolina
In primaries only
South Carolina
Must register in person
Mississippi
Tennessee

The four Southern states of Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Oklahoma do not provide for primary run-offs between the winner and runner-up of the first primary when the winner fails to receive a plurality over the combined vote of all his opponents. This is an undemocratic situation, because in some cases the runner-up in the first primary would draw enough of the votes of the low-vote candidates to win the nomination. Not having a primary run-off gives the political machines an advantage — which means it leaves the people at a disadvantage.

Student Asks Pointed Question

When high school and junior college students of the Atlanta area met in a forum on "Privileges of Citizenship," sponsored by the Young Democrats of Georgia, a young man in the audience rose to ask, "If the Federal Constitution sets forth that we are all created free and equal, why aren't Negroes here to join us in discussing the privileges of citizenship?" He was told that his question "did not concern" problems under consideration at the forum.

The White Primary Problem Must Be Solved to Strengthen Democracy

By Ira DeA. Reid

THE UNITED COUNCIL of Church Women recently in session at Washington, D. C., voiced the opinion that "a free vote" must be guaranteed all citizens of the United States. The United Council is composed of 1200 organizations of church women scattered throughout the United States. Their action strengthens the hands of Southern people and organizations that have pressed so hard in Texas, Arkansas, Georgia and other states in behalf of a franchise freed from a poll tax and rid of a primary based on race and exploitation of the many by the few.

However, it is disconcerting, to say the least, to have Georgia's State Department of Justice offer the full weight of its resources and prestige to the president of the Georgia Bar Association in his capacity as counsel for the defendant in an appeal from Judge T. Hoyt Davis' decision in the recent King vs. Muscogee County Democratic Party. In this decision Judge Davis upheld the right of Negroes to vote in the Georgia primary and awarded damages to Mr. King. We consider the state's offer of aid disconcerting, because it indicates how desperately the old system is seeking to maintain itself.

The situation we face poses an even greater problem for the region — the desperate need for Democracy in the South to improve and refine itself. What we have long sought in this nation is a doctrine of guarantees. We have looked to constitutional procedures; we have placed faith in enacted lists of principles, like the bill of rights. But there must be more. The crucial problem of politics in the South is not facts and knowledge; it is feeling. Can we feel the feelings of those who are denied Democracy, and can we feel *for* them? The political scientists say yes — on three conditions: if they are close to us geographically; if they are present to us constantly; and above all, *if they matter.* The last, we fear, is the rub. Yet this problem must be solved in so far as it concerns those things without which a breakdown of domestic Democracy must occur. What persuasion can make the ruling South care about the others, and so learn about the others sufficiently to care about them? Is there a principle upon which such persuasion can be founded? Is there an idea to induce at once a temper of continuous readiness to listen and be influenced? Must the South continue to be politically afraid, inept and unjust?

Business Magazine Calls South "New Industrial Frontier"

The South may become the nation's "new industrial frontier," said a recent issue of *The Index,* published by the New York Trust Company. The publication said the South, through the impetus of war industry, had achieved the "industrial development of a generation telescoped into a few years."

War contracts brought $35,000,000,000 to the region, said *The Index,* of which $26,000,000,000 was in supply contracts and $9,000,000,000 in facility projects. The publication said that many of the smaller Southern war plants were already being converted to peacetime production and that the prospects for new factories and expansion of existing facilities were bright.

The South's labor supply, wealth of resources, favorable climate and ample power sources contribute to the region's chances for continued industrial development, the publication said.

"Postwar Education of Negroes," thoroughly documented 70-page booklet on "Educational Implications of Army Data and Experiences of Negro Veterans and War Workers," has been published by the U. S. Office of Education. Copies may be obtained from the Office, Washington 25, D. C.

SRC Member Demands Clear Stand from Democratic Party Leaders

The citizen has a duty as an individual as well as a member of a group — a duty daily to live by and insist upon democratic practices, a duty not to bolster injustice by keeping silence. SRC member J. Lewis Henderson sets a fine example of individual responsibility, one which could have far-reaching effects if every one of us would follow it actively, as expressed in the following letter:

314 Ridge Road, Park Hill
North Little Rock, Ark.
Nov. 21, 1945

Mr. Harvey G. Combs, Secretary
Democratic State Committee
Boyle Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Combs:

After addressing several letters to Mr. W. J. Smith, director of organization, Young Democratic Clubs of Arkansas, I failed to get any reply to some questions concerning the party. However, during a telephone conversation more than a month ago he assured me that my request would be forwarded to you and a reply would be forthcoming. As evidence of this, I have a copy of his letter to you, under date of October 22, in which he says he enclosed copies of my letters.

Having heard nothing from you after waiting 30 days I suspect that my request has again been neglected. Please forgive me if my suspicion of being neglected is unfair, either to you or to the Democratic Party.

Having been a regular Democrat and having made regular contributions to the party for over 20 years in Mississippi and Arkansas, and having paid poll tax for both my wife and myself each year, it seems to me that I am entitled to a reply to a simple request.

My two questions, which are stated in previous letters, are these:

1. Is it the principle or policy of the Democratic Party of Arkansas to prevent Negroes, who may be otherwise qualified as citizens, from voting in elections to select our public officials?

2. Is the Democratic Party of Arkansas committed to the poll tax principles as a requirement for voting?

Sincerely yours,
J. LEWIS HENDERSON

Self-addressed,
stamped envelope
enclosed

Rural Communities Urged to Seek Surplus War Medical Equipment

The Department of Agriculture is urging rural communities to take immediate action to obtain a share of medical equipment and supplies from stocks of surplus war property soon to be available.

The Surplus Property Act provided that medical equipment and supplies be disposed of for the public good and the policy of the Surplus Property Board is to release the materials to communities at prices based on local needs. USDA has prepared recommendations for a program of cooperation by rural communities, public health agencies and the surplus disposal offices to get the equipment and supplies for local use.

The Southern Regional Council and the Virginia Council of Churches jointly sponsored an Institute on the Returning Veteran at Richmond recently. The institute met for two days and covered thoroughly a study of veterans programs operated by the nation, the states and communities and the problems of employment for veterans. George S. Mitchell, SRC director of veterans services, was panel leader for the session on "Employment Opportunities for Veterans."

Miss Mary E. Braden, a white woman who devoted her life to Negro education, died at the age of 88 last month in Morristown, Tenn.

Tuskegee Lists One Lynching in 1945
Florida Governor and SRC Disagree

When Governor Millard Caldwell of Florida recently said that the slaying of Jesse James Payne at Madison, which was listed by Tuskegee Institute as the single lynching of 1945, "did not come within any recognized definition of lynching," Executive Director Guy B. Johnson of the Southern Regional Council told the press that SRC agreed with Tuskegee.

Governor Caldwell's public statement followed a query from R. B. Eleazer, of the General Board of Education of the Methodist Church, who was preparing a report on the case for the Encyclopedia Britannica Yearbook. Payne was taken from an unguarded jail and shot to death after he was indicted for attempted rape of a five-year-old girl. No witnesses to the shooting were found and the special grand jury ordered by Governor Caldwell reported that it was unable to fix responsibility.

Dr. Johnson, in reply to a query by the Associated Press, said, "I must agree with Tuskegee in calling the case a lynching," but added that the 1945 record is not as good as it appears because there have been several cases of a "borderline nature which are difficult to classify."

Governor Caldwell answered demands that he use his authority to remove Sheriff Lonnie T. Davis of Madison from office by saying that although Davis "has in this case proven his unfitness for office, he was nevertheless the choice of the people. Stupidity and ineptitude are not sufficient grounds for removel of an elected official by the governor."

Dr. Johnson told the AP that "the old style mob lynching, with all of its horrors, is definitely on the way out" and said that "if we use our common sense here in the South we can avoid a repetition of the period of Ku Kluxism and lynching which we had after World War I. . . . The biggest problem facing the South is the economic problem. . . . When there is economic security, people of all classes or races will get along better together."

Southern Democrats May Lose '48 Election for Party

Unless Southern Democrats follow the advice of Senator James M. Mead (D., N. Y.) and pass some legislation desired by labor and Negro groups, and cease insulting huge blocs of voters with racial epithets in Congressional speeches, the Democratic party may easily lose the 1946 and 1948 elections.

This was the assertion of *The Crisis* magazine, official organ of the NAACP, in its leading editorial for November. The magazine declares:

"The task of the Democratic party as has been stated here before is to retain the Roosevelt Democrats, the people who trusted FDR even while strongly distrusting practically the entire Dixie wing. In this group are the Negro voters, some other racial and religious groups, some large labor blocs, and a host of independent voters. The gloomy prediction of Senator Mead may easily come true unless the poll tax legislators see the light."

Governor Lays Part of Blame For Boy's Crime on Society

When Governor Greg Cherry of North Carolina recently commuted the sentence of Ernest Brooks, 15-year-old Negro boy convicted of rape and burglary, from death to life imprisonment, he wisely remarked that part of the blame for the crime lies "upon the citizenship of our State who fail to correct the conditions of society which neglect to give proper environment for the underprivileged."

The *Asheville Citizen* commented in an editorial: "In that merciful judgment, we think, North Carolina will fully concur. . . . This Negro boy . . . is truly a case study in the record of one of society's failings. . . . This is a stern indictment, no less stern in its larger aspects than the indictment which society first brought against Ernest Brooks. The State cannot execute a child, but it must imprison him for life. What can it do in enlightened best judgment to salvage the other Ernests to whom crime may beckon and destroy?"

Churches' Duty in Race Relations Receives Increasing Recognition

The responsibility and capacity for good work in race relations by the churches is gaining continually greater recognition and was summed up in a recent resolution of the state convention of North Carolina Baptists. The resolution, stressing the direct responsibility of ministers themselves, said, "the chief hope" for improved race relations "is an aggressive leadership on the part of the Christian Church at this moment. Such aggressive leadership should have its initiative among the ministers of both races. . . ."

Indications of how widely this sense of responsibility is spreading is revealed in the following recent developments:

Methodist young people in Alabama, at their annual assembly of Youth Fellowship, established a committee "to make a survey of existing interracial relations and formulate definite plans for their correction."

White and Negro ministers of Raleigh, N. C., at the suggestion of the white Ministerial Association of the city, will hold this year a series of joint meetings to work for better understanding. and cooperation. The Association also adopted recommendations for annual observance of "race relations week," efforts to obtain proportionate representation of Negroes on civic and other agencies affecting both races, formation in the churches of groups to study race relations, and efforts to get better housing, better travel conditions and better treatment generally for Negro citizens.

Texas Baptists, at their state convention, set up a special Interracial Department to develop better race relations "through the cultivation of racial understanding, the creation of Christian attitudes among our people toward the people of other groups. . . ." The department will concern itself with conditions among all minority groups in the state.

The National Catholic Welfare Council, meeting in Washington, announced plans for "The establishment of Catholic interracial committees; the encouragement of Negro leadership and organization for self-education. . . ."

Negro's Right to Primary Vote Is Gaining Broader Support

The continuing drive for the right of Negro citizens to vote in Democratic primary elections in the South gained another notch recently when the chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of Alabama announced that he would ask the committee to allow qualified Negroes to cast ballots in the state's primary next spring.

Gessner McCorvey, committee head, said he would oppose any move "to get around" the recent Supreme Court decision, which declared that Negroes were entitled to vote in the primary (in the Texas case). He added that opening the primary to Negroes would not make much difference, because there are few Negroes who are "properly qualified" and have paid their polltaxes. (Alabama's polltax is cumulative up to $36.) This may indicate that other means may be used to keep the number of Negro voters down, but it is at least a step forward.

Meanwhile, the recent news of Negro voting in the Athens, Ga. municipal primary has won fairly wide editorial support and given white Southerners a chance to see that the "innovation" does not amount to a revolution. The *Atlanta Journal* said the event was a "sane and hopeful example." The Columbia, S. C., *Record,* commenting that Georgia Democrats were planning to follow South Carolina's horrible example by removing all primary laws from the statute books and letting the parties make their own rules, said the Athens election "seems to reveal that the white Democrats of Georgia need not be alarmed. . . . The Negroes did not change the result. Most of them voted for the same candidate that most of the whites supported."

"Government and Our Minorities" is the title of an interesting and level-headed pamphlet study of "Government's Role in Helping to Equalize Opportunities for Minorities in the United States" issued by the National League of Women Voters.

White GI Tells Courage of Negro Soldier

THE KIND OF unselfish devotion and comaraderie experienced between Negro and white GIs in this war is revealed in a clipping from the Warren, Ohio, *Daily Examiner* under its column "About People." William Gillespie, white private formerly with the Third Army in France, tells the story of James Alvin Wilson, 1224 Lenox Ave., New York, killed in action November 23, 1944.

"In spite of the rain and snow, I could see Jim reach down into the foxhole and gently lift me to the edge.

"Now I weigh about 176, and at the time I was, as they say, soaking wet. But it evidently didn't make much difference to this soldier, who had volunteered to take me back to the aid station.

"The pain in my hips was at that time quite acute, and Jim was always asking if he was hurting me. As I laid my head upon his chest, I could hear his deep breathing and the laboring of his heart. He carried me a little over a mile to the aid station, and it was then that I learned Jim had 'trench feet,' and had carried me all that distance through snow. Every step must have been torture.

"We were together from then on, sleeping in cots close together, because Jim told them he would take care of me.

"The care he gave me became a legend with the other patients. At night when I awoke from the pain, Jim was there with water, talking to me, telling me to 'take it easy,' bringing me a cool towel and wiping my face. He would bring cigarets every day, and I had the best of everything.

"And then came our parting. Jim back to his outfit and myself to a general hospital. He carried one end of my litter to the ambulance and when they drove away his parting words were, 'I'll see you in the States, kid,' and we pulled away. As I looked back the sun was shining, and Jim stood there waving his big powerful hand, and as the sun hit his combat helmet, it seemed to glow into a halo, and I could see he was crying as I was.

"Thus was my friendship with a fellow named Jim. I wondered as the days passed why he didn't write as he promised. Then one day I had my answer as I was reading the 'Stars and Stripes.' I came across an article something like this:

"'James Alvin Wilson, colored, 1224 Lenox Avenue, New York, N. Y. Killed in action November 23, 1944.'"

Newspaper Urges Fair Share for Negro Education

"In a petition based on undisputed figures, a group of Negro parents says there is discrimination in the Atlanta public school system and asks educational equity for their children. The Board of Education has assigned the petition to committees for study. . . .

"The petitioners are not asking that anything be taken away from the white pupils. They're asking only that facilities and opportunities for Negro pupils be expanded so that tax funds levied for support of all public school pupils will be more equitably distributed.

"It is generally acknowledged that the well-being of a community is dependent upon the progress of all its people. So long as a segment of the population is denied adequate educational opportunities, the entire community will suffer in juvenile delinquency, crime, poor citizenship and economic distress. Those who are denied the opportunity to become self-sufficient will always be a drag on the community. The place to give them an opportunity is in our public schools. . . ."

— *The Atlanta Journal*

N. C. Student Group Invites Negroes

Delegates to the ninth annual Student Legislative Assembly of North Carolina, meeting at Raleigh recently, voted 110 to 48 to invite students from Negro colleges in the state to participate in the 1946 sessions despite the contrary advice of Secretary of State Thad Eure.

Eure told the students that they might be "jeopardizing the beautiful picture toward which we are moving," reminded them that race relations were progressing well in North Carolina, and urged them to consult with Negro educators before taking the step. He spoke after the motion had been adopted, and a motion to refer action to committee was defeated, 110 to 45.

Model for the South?

(*Continued from page 3*)

ket. Markets for the products of Kingsport industries, therefore, extend beyond the local community and in many cases are nation-wide. That Kingsport's most important industries sell in nation-wide markets is a factor that has contributed to the economic stability of the whole community. Financial and proprietary independence contribute to the same end.

In current thinking about industrialization in the South, a widespread prejudice is in favor of small locally owned industries and against branch plants of "foreign" owned corporations. The Kingsport experiment, however, has shown that wealth is created and distributed where capital goes to work and not where it happens to be owned.

The first step in planning for such an industrial pattern was the visualization of the kind of community that was wanted. In practice this meant a selective rather than an indiscriminate encouragement for industries to locate in Kingsport. One test was the quality of management and financial responsibility. To be welcome in Kingsport an industry was also required "to fit into the community." In practice this meant that it should be to some extent complementary to industries already there and that it would be willing to work harmoniously with the other industries. Another test was whether the prospective industry would fit the available labor supply. Industries were sought that would as a group give balanced employment to men and women, skilled and unskilled workers. No industry that would have to import the bulk of its labor from the outside was encouraged.

So-called sweatshop industries or concerns interested only in exploiting "cheap Southern labor" were not encouraged. Progressive labor-relations policies were considered important from both an industrial and a social standpoint. There has been a complete absence of special inducements, such as tax exemptions, free sites, free buildings, and other subsidies so common elsewhere. Nor has any strictly financial assistance been offered to new industries. In no sense whatever has there been any organized community financing of new industries.

Cheapness of labor has not been held out as a bait to new industries. The quality, not the cheapness, of the available labor supply has been emphasized, and a generally high-wage policy has been encouraged. Indeed, on one occasion a plant that indulged in wage cutting that involved it in labor troubles was actively encouraged to leave the town.

The only things that are really offered to a prospective new industry are a sound economic opportunity and the helpful cooperation of the city and the industrial community.

The wisdom of these methods, so contrary to those by which some towns seek to expand their industries, is borne out in Kingsport's steady, substantial growth. The population of the Kingsport urban area, which was 7,652 in 1920, had grown to 15,886 in 1930. By 1940 it had reached 23,738, and in 1945 it was estimated at 27,000. According to a report to the Board of Mayor and Aldermen by the Kingsport Planning Commission, 3,714 manufacturing jobs were available in 1929. By 1935 the figure had risen to 3,824, and in 1937 it was 6,484. The year 1939 saw employment in manufacturing reach 8,000; 1941 saw it go to 10,000 and 1943 to 15,000. The operation of a large war plant in the city carried employment in manufacturing to almost 20,000 in 1944 and 1945. Between 1935 and 1941 wages paid in manufacturing increased almost five-fold.

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